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583 father of the girl then fixes a day for the capture of the bride by the bridegroom. She is sent off on some fictitious errand, is captured by the bridegroom's friend, lifted on their shoulders, and carried to his house. One of my servants witnessed a capture. The maid was sitting in the market at Zangon Katab, selling beans (by her mother's orders). Three young men suddenly appeared, and the strongest caught her by the legs and carried her off screaming, with her legs over his shoulders and her head pointing downwards. She struggled violently and bit him, and after having covered 300 yards he was glad to hand her over to his assistants. No doubt they all arrived at the husband's home very much the worse for wear. Parents state that the capture ceremony saves them the pain of parting with their daughter, but it is apparent that until comparatively recent times the capture of a bride was a real and not a mock affair. For the Katab were accustomed to capture, when they could, virgins and married women from other tribes; and it was permissible within the tribe for one clansman to capture a girl who was betrothed to a fellow clansman. If the captor belonged to the same subdivision as the fiancé he repaid the fiancé all his expenses, as custom compelled the fiancé to resign his claim for ever. But if the captor belonged to a different subdivision there would be no repayment, as the fiancé was permitted to elope later with the woman to whom he had formerly been [178] betrothed. The capture of affianced girls has now been abandoned, the tribe having come to regard it as inconsistent with modern conditions. Moreover, with the increase of the bride-price, a captor would find it difficult to repay a sub-clansman whose fiancée he had captured. The captured bride is deposited in the hut of one of the bridegroom's relatives, and 585 remains there for three nights. On the fourth night she is taken to the bridegroom's house and the marriage is consummated. If the bridegroom discovers that the bride is not *virgo intacta* he abuses her roundly, but he does not, like the Hausa, advertise 582 the fact to the world. The Katab has good reason to expect virginity, for though premarital cohabitation is practised between 836 a girl and her fiancé and other lads, with the connivance of her parents, many Katab girls find themselves married women before they have reached the age of puberty. It is revolting to our ideas, and also appears to be against the law of nature, that

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836 grown-up men should have sexual relations with legal wives who may be under 13 years of age.

836 Pre-marital cohabitation is not practised to any great extent; for it is taboo between fellow clansmen; and as most of the clans are localized a boy of one clan has little opportunity of 848 sleeping with a girl of another. In the quite exceptional case [847] of a girl conceiving by a youth who was not her betrothed, it was stated that resort might be had to abortifacients. If these were unsuccessful, the girl would be married off as quickly as possible to her fiancé, who would accept the child as his own. The child would suffer no legal disabilities, and in fact would occupy the privileged position of an "eldest son". *Per contra* this custom may explain why it is that, among the Hausa, the eldest son is treated as a stranger.

585 Katab girls are only married between October and March, i.e. during the dry season, and not (as among the Kagoro) during 591 a particular month of the wet season. The bride spends her first year in the hut of her husband's mother, sleeping with her husband at night. At the end of the year she is given her own hut and is provided by the husband's mother with the necessary 853 cooking utensils. After the birth of a child no sexual relations may occur between husband and wife until the child is weaned, 834 the reason for this rule being based on the observation that conception interferes with lactation.

584 It remains to add that members of the same sub-clan 613 frequently assist each other in procuring wives. It is not uncommon for a man to hand over to a friend the bride-price 431 obtained for his daughter or niece in order that the friend may have the means to provide himself with a wife. The money may be treated as a loan, but is often given as a free gift.

586 It has been indicated already that no Katab husband can be sure that his wife of to-day will be living with him one year 851 hence. She may be approached by a clansman of her husband (but belonging to another subdivision) and invited to share his life. If she prefers to remain with her husband she will say "No"; but if she wishes a change she will say "Yes", and refer him to her parents, to whom he will have to pay a bride-price. He may approach the parents in the first instance, and they may bring pressure to bear on their daughter. And so off she goes, perhaps enceinte by her first husband. It does not

According to Meek, Katab have adopted, apparently purely as a recreation, the *sharo* (*sharau, shado*, etc.) form of initiation ordeal, practised by some of the local Fulani "tribes," among whom, though it is not universally practised, the activity is to all appearances psycho-pathological in character, as it is carried out at the present time. The Katab, however, bind their bodies with cloth as protection against the cane-blows by their fellow-contestants, and *chadong gane*—as it is called in the vernacular—becomes a game of tag.

The taking of heads in war does not appear to have been regarded as a necessary condition to the status of adulthood, though an adult's status was enhanced by success in battle. (See also *Religious Beliefs and Practices*, below.)

Marriage

In the case of primary marriage, a girl may be engaged at birth, but normally she is sought in marriage when she is a few years old, through the father's brother or "a male paternal cousin," and "is formally betrothed at the age of seven." Payment and/or service are as follows: (1) four fowls to girl's father; (2) one day's labour, aided by suitor's friends, annually on farm of girl's father (or cash in lieu of service); (3) 2,000 cowries or their equivalent to the girl's father, who keeps the major part for himself and distributes the balance among his male relatives, i.e., brothers and paternal cousins; (4) presumably at the time of the actual wedding, an additional 20,000 cowries to the father (who keeps two-thirds for his use, distributing the balance among his relatives);[25] (5) before the final rites, a goat to the girl's mother, three fowls to the father, and 100 cowries to her maternal grandfather.[26] A date is then set by the girl's father for the wedding, which takes the form of capture, convincingly carried out, according to Meek: friends of the suitor seize the girl and leave her in the hut of a relative of the suitor, where she remains for three nights; on the fourth night, the marriage is consummated in the hut of her mother-in-law, where she lives until given her own hut at the end of the first year.

According to Meek, "many Katab girls" are married before puberty. Primary marriages always take place during the dry season (October-March), except in the rare case of an unseasonable pregnancy, when "the girl would be married off as quickly as possible to her fiancé." Premarital intercourse is said to be unusual because lineages (and clans) are localized.

As regards secondary marriage, a man may not contract a union with a married woman who is (*a*) a member of his own clan, (*b*) a "close" relation of his mother (that is, presumably, a member of his mother's lineage), (*c*) a member of a primary wife's parental household (it is not clear whether affines of his primary wife are included in this prohibition, or her sisters and cousins who have married out of the household), (*d*) the wife of a member of his own kindred, or (*e*) the wife of a fellow-villager. As has already been pointed out, members of Minyam and Agbat clans are enjoined to seek secondary wives among the wives of fellow-clansmen, within the limits indicated here; members of Aku and Shokwa clans, on the contrary, extend the prohibition described at (*d*), above, to the wives of fellow-clansmen, and take their secondary wives from the men of Minyam and Agbat. According to Meek, secondary marriage-payments amount to 15 shillings cash and one goat (1931); when secondary wives are obtained from neighbouring tribes, marriage-payments commonly follow, rather than precede, "elopement."

[25] In the same paragraph Meek stresses inexplicably that "the father's brother . . . receives the bride-price, part of which only he hands on to the parents of the girl."

[26] The cowrie was discontinued as a medium of exchange in 1919, at *c.* 2,400–3,000 = one shilling, in Zaria City. Whether it is, or was at the time of Meek's investigation, still actually used in marriage negotiations is not clear, at least to the complete exclusion of legal tender. Re marriage payments Meek notes, "... members of the same sub-clan frequently assist each other in procuring wives. It it is not uncommon for a man to hand over to a friend the bride-price obtained for his daughter or niece in order that the friend may have the means to provide himself with a wife. The money may be treated as a loan, but is often given as a free gift."

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(3) Widow inheritance.[87] 587

(*a*) Inheritance of (man's) father's wife.

(*b*) Inheritance of (man's) " real " brother's wife.

(*c*) Inheritance of (man's) classificatory brother's wife (most commonly within lineage or clan, sometimes within the limits of the *bin*).

In primary marriage, according to Smith, the actual negotiations are never made by the parties concerned: the suitor or his father approaches a matrilineal or affinal relative of the suitor in an appropriate (*niendi*) clan and names the girl-member that interests him; this relative, in turn, seeks out as a second intermediary a fellow clansman more closely related to the girl's father and willing to arrange the marriage. A series of gifts is made by the suitor and his father through the go-betweens to the girl and her parents, and lesser gifts are returned. In the year before the marriage is to take place, the girl's back is cicatrized (see *Initiation*, above): feasts prepared by the suitor's family, and consumed by the girl and her kin in their own village, precede and follow the ordeal. At last, three women (the chief wife of each of the intermediaries, and the wife of a matrilineal kinsman of the bride) take the girl to her husband's compound. According to Smith, " This carrying of the bride to her husband's home . . . is performed by all Kagoro at a set season after . . . Zafan clan at Kadarko . . ." Further rituals, however, occupy several succeeding days before the marriage is consummated. 584

It is noteworthy that, according to Smith's Kagoro informants, formal courtship occurs during betrothal on visits made by the suitor accompanied by a male friend. They visit the girl's compound after dark, taking a new mat and some tobacco or beer as gifts for her mother and father. No sexual play or intercourse is associated with these visits which take place as often as the suitor desires. Kagoro say that premarital intercourse is rare and premarital pregnancy exceptionally rare. It is particularly shameful if a daughter gives birth in her parents' home, and to avoid this, when an unmarried girl becomes pregnant, the marriage is immediately carried out without any formalities. Which is to say, apparently, that she simply takes up residence in her husband's compound, without any of the ceremony described above, and regardless of the " set season." 584 836 848

The primary marriage of a woman may—and appears often to—serve as a kind of signal to secondary suitors, as they may be termed: " Suitors seeking a girl in secondary marriage first bring the matter to her parents' notice on the day that she has been taken to her first husband's compound." Secondary courtship proceeds much according to the pattern observed for primary: the woman's parents are approached, gifts are exchanged, and courtship visits paid to the woman whenever she returns to her parental compound, as she does periodically, according to a more or less fixed traditional pattern from the very beginning of her marriage. A wife may reject a secondary suitor, however; on the other hand, a really persistent secondary suitor can have his way with her provided she bears her primary husband a child, and the suitor can succeed in kidnapping the infant during the nursing period. 584 587

Complete failure to persuade a woman in a secondary suit may result in refunding payments made by the suitor, application for which he makes only as a last resort, however.

As indicated earlier, payments made by a husband secure the membership of his children in his own clan: young children, however, regularly accompany their mother when she takes up residence with successive husbands; this practice has the effect of extending the terms for father and paternal relatives of children to all the husbands of the mother and their relatives. To prevent paternity disputes, a woman was required monthly, for three months after taking up residence 851 843

[87] *N.B.*, widows apparently cannot contract new primary marriages.

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and return to the *gado's* compound, where their mothers anoint them with mahogany oil, and the boys join in a dance with their elders. Then they enter the *abwai* hut as members for the first time, and sleep there for seven nights, when the *gado* may give them various tasks to perform. After this the younger members of the cult act as messengers for the elder members and must do most of the work in building a new hut when required.

Marriage

The types of marriage noted among Kagoro are found also among Kaje. Only the traditional procedure for engagement in certain cases appears to vary significantly. In past times a man could contract a special relationship with an unborn child by a kind of vow made to the child's father: he would declare that if a girl were born, he desired her as his (or a son's) wife,[118] and that if a boy were born he would treat him as a son. To-day arrangements for a girl's marriage will not begin until she is perhaps eight years of age. Small gifts are made by the suitor to the girl's parents and to the girl over a period of years. When the first marriage-payment is made (through collateral relatives related by marriage to both parties), the two parties begin to use the terms husband and wife, and the husband becomes subject to farm labour for his wife's parents: each must also now participate in the lineage rituals of the other; until final payments are made, however, the girl will not spend more than a few days at a time in her husband's compound. The final instalment is, in effect, the signal for the bride's " capture ": friends of the husband " abduct " her, hold her for three nights, and then release her to her husband, with whom she then takes up permanent residence.

Premarital relations between young people are, according to Reynolds, not so circumspect as those described by Meek among Katab, and a girl may be having intercourse with a number of lovers at the time of her marriage. Should a girl become pregnant before marriage, she will promptly take up residence with her husband, so that her child will not be born in her father's compound; her husband will thus become the legal father of her child, whatever the biological facts may be.

Secondary marriage proceeds much as among Kagoro. *Iddat*, introduced by Administration, seems only to have slowed down the whole process, thereby tending to reduce litigation over parentage. Marriage-payments are refunded only if no children have been born, and then only on application by the deserted husband, which suggests that in fact annulment only obtains among Kaje, and not divorce. Presumably, however, *iddat* must be submitted to by a woman who wishes to return to an earlier husband. To some extent the discipline of *iddat* may have had the effect of weakening the *abwai* cult.

Reynolds states that a man anxious to hold a childless wife may, with her consent, provide a genitor, who cohabits with her in her husband's compound. Relationship between husband and genitor is not specified by Reynolds: choosing a genitor from another village or tribal section than the husband's might lead to an unwelcome secondary marriage; on the other hand, Reynolds elsewhere notes that intercourse between a man's wife and his brother, real or classificatory, requires ritual purification as a heinous offence.

Death and Burial

Death is believed to be a result of witchcraft,[119] offence against the supernatural, or of accident (which may be a variant of the second). In general, a person dying from a cause which is not apparent to Kaje is judged to be the victim of a witch who

[118] Cf. Jaba, p. 119, below.

[119] The *gado abwai* is apparently the only individual able to inflict death by sorcery (magic) as opposed to witchcraft; but informants insist that no *gado abwai* has resorted to sorcery since the advent of the British.